

THE GREAT UNION MEETING.

Held at Indianapolis, February 26th, 1863.

SPEECHES OF ANDREW JOHNSON, of Tennessee, Gen. SAMUEL F. CAREY, of Ohio, and Others.

[REPORTED FOR THE INDIANAPOLIS DAILY JOURNAL.]

Never before in this State, or any other, have we witnessed a demonstration of popular feeling so magnificent in its proportions, and so impressive in its enthusiasm, as the great Union meeting yesterday. Nothing in any party campaign will compare with it. There was more than party at stake, and more than party devotion responded. The country is in peril and the people came out to encourage and hold up the hands of those whose courage must save it. It was the voice of the people crying to the army: "Be of good cheer, your friends have not forsaken you." There was no element of party in it. It was a broad, bold, noble assertion of the right of the nation to save itself. The spirit that animated it was as glorious as its own strength was invincible. It looked as if the foundations of the popular deep were broken up, and a deluge of indignant feeling had risen to sweep from the earth all treason and disaffection. No man could see it and not feel how miserable and mean is the cause that could deny itself to such support. But we must spare comment for to-day.

THE CROWD.

All day Wednesday crowds were coming in, giving warning, though insufficient, as it proved, of the immense gathering that they preceded. At night there was not a spare bed in the city in any hotel, nor in many private houses, and hundreds had to sit up all night in hotel parlors sleeping in chairs, or how they could, or not sleeping at all. Many ladies who arrived on late trains were unable to procure any resting place at all. Yesterday morning early the streets seemed sown with people, though not a train had yet arrived of the many from which the real crowd was expected. The sky was damp with the promise of rain, which was speedily fulfilled, but the crowd still poured along, and gathered thicker every minute. There was every indication of a most unpleasant and disheartening day, but the trains came in lengthened out for hundreds of yards and loaded with people. The whole State seemed to be emptying itself into the city, and the clouds, without any seeming about it, were emptying themselves into the streets. It was an outpouring and downpouring together. By nine o'clock it was almost impossible to cross the streets for the mud, or pass along them for

people. An endless procession streamed along towards the State House square, where even then there was a far larger crowd collected than attended the Butternut meeting last July. In spite of the dismal weather gay flags floated from many a building, and they didn't droop, even for the rain, but sailed out boldly as if they felt that they were representing an occasion that demanded their full beauty. Over the windows of the police office a magnificent evergreen arch, decorated with flags, was erected, but we did not notice any other attempt at this kind of display.— At 10 o'clock the clouds broke away, and the sun came out. And then the crowd swelled faster than ever. The promise of a pleasant day seemed to be answered by a fresh burst of people, and a faster whirl of huge excursion trains. When we reached the State House yard the entire eastern side from Washington street to Market was full, and it was almost impossible to get near the main stand. Still the long procession poured through the gate, and stray streams were leaping in cataracts over the fence in fifty places. The band of the 18th Regulars came along directly playing superbly, and the crowd that followed was so thick that many thought a procession had really been formed up the street of the remnant that still remained out of the yard. The band mounted a stand prepared for them to the right of the main stand, and entertained as many as could hear with some of their finest airs. Two beautiful new flags, one belonging to the 9th Indiana, were fastened to the main stand, and showed their glorious stars and stripes in as brilliant a sun, and as balmy an air, as any in all that sunny South where their authority is reviled. The day seemed to have become enchanted with a crowd that *wouldn't* be put out by any sort of weather, and showed its prettiest face, though it changed capriciously several times before dark. By this time the ceremony of the reception of Gov. Johnson was expected. But it was speedily whispered about, till all knew it, that Gov. Morton would not be able to make the reception speech. An accidental fall during the night, while waiting upon a sick child, had severely bruised and sprained his shoulder and knee, and his doctors had forbidden him to go out. We heard many an expression of disappointment at the failure to see him. "If we could

only have *seen* him, we would have been satisfied," was a constant exclamation. It told better than many a formal declaration how he has endeared himself to all true men by his exertions in behalf of our soldiers.

About half past 10 o'clock Gov. Johnson entered the yard, accompanied by Governor Wright, who readily accepted the hospitable duty, so well known to his own career as Governor, of receiving Gov. Johnson. The band struck up "Hail to the Chief," and in a cloud of music and cheering they made their way through the thick mass to the stand. Some minutes were passed in introductions and other attendant ceremonies, and then, as the main ceremony was about to begin, Major Fryberger's guns began thundering all round the city. From every direction came the roaring of artillery, now in regular rapid explosions, and again in irregular bursts that crashed through the clear sky like a drove of thunderbolts on a stampede. Sections of batteries had been placed at a dozen different points, near and far, around the State House, and the gunners seemed to let themselves out in making just as much noise, and as fast, as they could. There could be no speech making while that lasted, but it stopped in five minutes or so, and the ceremonies proceeded. At this time the sight of the crowd was a memory for a life time. We can't describe it. We never saw such an one before, and we doubt if any one else ever did, at least in Indiana. There could hardly have been less than 15,000 people in one solid block, with faces upturned to the stand, as if their bodies were one huge chunk on which faces had been glued, like shells on a fancy basket, as thickly as they could stick. The whole number in attendance on the meeting was fully 25,000, and, measured by the old exaggerated standard of party campaigns, was at least 75,000. We put it moderately and reasonably at 25,000.

ORGANIZATION.

The Convention was called to order by Hon. H. C. Newcomb, who nominated Gov. Joseph A. Wright for President.

Gov. Wright returned his thanks for the honor conferred upon him in appropriate remarks.

On motion of Hon. H. C. Newcomb, the following additional officers were nominated:

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Hon. Caleb B. Smith, of Marion.
Hon. Charles H. Test, of White.
Col. H. B. Carrington, 18th Regulars.
James H. McNeeley, of Vanderburg.
Lieut. Col. Timberlake, 81st Ind.
Major I. B. Glover, 38th Ind.
Joseph Devin, of Gibson.
Hon. Cyrus M. Allen, of Knox.
Col. B. F. Mullen, 35th Ind.
Hon. T. C. Slaughter, of Harrison.
Robert Barnes, of Vanderburg.
Lieut. Col. J. A. Keith, 21st Ind.
Col. Ben Spooner, 83d Ind.
Lieut. Col. J. F. Cheek, 7th Ind.
W. H. Dixon, of Clark.
Col. Silas Colgrove, 27th Ind.
Gen. Ebenezer Dumont.
Col. A. D. Streight, 51st Ind.

Col. C. C. Hines, 57th Ind.
Gen. Milo S. Hascall.
Hon. Henry Secrest, of Putnam.
Hon. John A. Matson, of Putnam.
Hon. Harvey D. Scott, of Vigo.
Lieut. Col. J. E. Balfie, 35th Ind.
Hon. Samuel A. Huff.
Hon. Charles W. Cathcart, of Laporte.
Col. W. T. Spicely, 24th Ind.
Hon. W. S. Smith, of Allen.
Hon. W. M. Clapp, of Noble.
Col. Thos. J. Harrison, 39th Ind.
Major J. D. Evans, 39th Ind.

SECRETARIES.

E. H. Barry, of Marion.
Henry Crawford, of Floyd.
F. M. Thayer, of Vanderburg.
C. E. Fuller, of Fulton.
The throne of Grace was addressed by Bishop E. R. Ames, of the M. E. Church.
On motion of Hon. H. C. Newcomb a committee of one from each Congressional District on resolutions was appointed as follows:

COMMITTEES ON RESOLUTIONS.

John Ingle, Jr., of Vanderburg.
Thos. Slaughter, of Harrison.
N. T. Hauser, of Bartholomew.
Col. Ben. Spooner, of Dearborn.
Jehu T. Elliott, of Henry.
H. C. Newcomb, of Marion.
D. E. Williamson, of Putnam.
W. C. Dougherty, of Boone.
Chas. H. Test, of White.
Wm. S. Smith, of Allen.
Col. Thos. J. Harrison, of Howard.

Reception Speech of Gov. Wright.

In introducing Gov. Johnson, Gov. Wright said:

I have the pleasure of introducing to you a statesman whose name is familiar throughout the land, a personal and political friend, Gov. Andy Johnson, of Tennessee. Twenty years ago last December he had met him in the halls of Congress as a representative from Tennessee. Since then, as her Governor and her Senator, he had commanded the respect and confidence of every man North and South. He is a proper representative of that State to talk to you at this terrible hour of our national crisis. He was also a representative of one of the features of our free institutions, rising from a poor boy to the highest position, learning us that the humblest may equal the wealthiest in position. The question now is, whether wealth shall rule the country, or merit and talent. To every man who heard him to-day, whether he pushes the plane or follows the plow, the question comes home, whether you have a right to protection from the Government, and to participate in it.— Gov. Johnson comes from the South, as a representative of your Government, and tells you that he is for the Union, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union. While regretting that our worthy Governor was not present to do this duty, and while, as Executive of this State, he had introduced, on former occasions, distinguished statesmen, he had never in his life felt the emotions he now did in presenting to them a statesman cradled in the State

where Jackson is entombed, and a Democrat who knows what Democracy is. Nor could he refrain from mentioning the fact that a few months ago, when Nashville was threatened by Bragg, and its surrender was advised by military men, Gov. Johnson, with his iron will, avowed that he would not abandon Nashville till its Capitol was in ruins, and himself buried by its fall. I present him to you and ask you to receive him with open arms.

Gov. Johnson was received with outbursts of applause, and replied as follows:

Gov. Johnson's Speech.

Fellow-citizens of the State of Indiana, and I think I have a right to call you fellow-citizens. Although an inhabitant of another State, I claim to be a citizen of the United States, and recognize each and every one of you as a fellow-citizen, who claims citizenship under the broad panoply of this Union of ours. In presenting myself to you, it is with no ordinary degree of embarrassment. I find an audience far beyond my capacity to address, so far as my voice is concerned, nor have I strength to present the subject as I wish. Another cause of embarrassment is that I appear before you in the midst of a civil war, a revolution, which is calculated to interest each one of you. If any had come expecting oratory they would be disappointed. For in presenting myself to this concourse of people, if I know my own mind, it will be for the purpose of making a lodgment in your hearts of the truth on the great questions which have agitated the nation, and involved it in civil war.

When we look around, what condition do we find the country in? Just the other day all was peaceful, happy and prosperous. All portions of the country vied with each other in their professions of their desire for the common good. The great contest seemed to be between the advocates of the various parties and creeds, in pronouncing eulogies on their several States. Each one uttered eulogies on the blessings which had flowed upon this people under the Constitution of the United States since the formation of the Government. What has transpired or taken place in so short a period of time, as to make it necessary for one portion of your countrymen to commence a war of disintegration in the nation?

It has been contended by some in high places, and some in places not so high, that one portion of our fellow citizens had been deprived of their rights. Let me ask this sea of upturned faces before me to lay aside their prejudices—to forget that they ever belonged to the respective parties of the country—let me ask them what rights have been lost in the United States since the formation of the Constitution? Has any right been given up, or any right been taken away? I care not what party any man belongs to, can he put his finger on any one constitutional right which has been lost. Why, then, this crusade on the Constitution and the institutions under it?

As I remarked on a former occasion, I do not appear here as a partizan; but I have not

given up my political creed in the slightest degree. I have neither come here, or been elsewhere, to revoke a single political principle which I espoused at the commencement of my public life. I stand where I have always stood, an uncompromising Democrat. I stand to-day, as the advocate of the great Democratic principle of self-government, that the people are the great source of political power. In later years I have come to the conclusion that the Union of these States was a fixed principle of Democracy. Hence, we simply adhere to the principles of self-government, and of the people as the source of power, when we talk of the Constitution and of all laws enacted under it as obligatory on those who live under it. This is Democracy. This is where I stand. It is a true doctrine that the Government was made for the convenience of man, and not man for the Government; just as the shoe is made for the foot, not the foot for the shoe.

One of the first ideas I learned in connection with government was that the soul of liberty was the love of law. What liberty have you without the Constitution or laws? Take away law, and you have vice and anarchy rampant. With law we have liberty. It protects the weak against the strong, virtue against vice. This is a part of my Democracy.

But, my countrymen, what has brought this condition upon us? I will illustrate the question by reference to the history of party politics. We have been divided into political parties—Whig and Democratic—and, latterly, Republican and Democratic. Whichever party was dissatisfied with the result of an election appealed to the people. Whatever the issue, banks or tariffs, or latterly the issues between the Democratic and Republican parties, there was waving over all the stars and stripes. All parties vied in their fealty to the Constitution and devotion to the banner of our country. Let me ask my Republican friends and my Democratic friends whether the contest has not been as to which would best promote the prosperity of the Union and preserve its existence? On all public measures the contest was whether the policy of either party would best preserve the Union and prosperity of the States. All agreed in the supremacy of the Constitution and Union of States. What are we doing about this matter now? These defenders of the South profess to find reasons for the men for whom they sympathize.

At the last election Lincoln, Bell, Douglas and Breckinridge were candidates, and they all professed to be strongly devoted to the Union. I made speeches for John C. Breckinridge, for the same reason I would have spoken for Douglas, had I been living in a free State, because he was the strongest man there, and by supporting him we hoped to beat the candidate of the Republican party. This is the truth, and I will not lie about it. We repudiated all idea that Breckinridge was a disunionist. Each party was especially devoted to the country. To satisfy my Democratic friends that he was a professed Unionist, I will read to you a few extracts from his speeches. We all know how parties divide,

some going one way, some another, and we had as well admit it as honest men that thousands of them have their sympathies based on old party biases. If we were deceived is it any reason why we would turn traitors? He deceived me then—that was his fault. If he deceives me now it would be my fault. If God forgives me for advocating the claims of one who turned traitor, I pledge this assembly that I will never again be guilty of a like offense.

[Gov. Johnson quoted passages from Breckinridge's speeches, which he had used during the campaign to prove him a devoted Union man, referring to his speech on the occasion of the removal from the old Senate chamber to the new, when he prophesied that the execration of mankind would rest on any one who attempted to disrupt the Union. They were used by his advocates to convince the people that he was the most devoted Union candidate.]

Now, what has transpired since the Presidential election to make the Union so odious, and the Constitution so inefficient and illy calculated to benefit the country? What has been done to destroy the Union of the States? Can any one tell? Let me ask my Republican and Democratic friends, in the language of soberness and truth, to-day, do you believe if John C. Breckinridge had been elected, could we not have stood this Constitution and this Union at least four years longer? [Cries of "We do."]

The question resolves itself into this. One party was in power, and after the election it saw the sceptre of the Union had gone from it. For, even looking to the expiration of Lincoln's term of four years, there was, even if Mr. Lincoln was not re-elected, other organizations coming up to retain the power from them, and they knew it. Now, they said, is the time to strike and make the slavery question a pretext to unite the Southern States. We see to-day, in this terrible war, what it ended in. Let me ask this audience to-day, if we are to have a civil war after every election, because one party or the other is defeated, what are we coming to? Look at Mexico, torn with internal dissension, too feeble to resent foreign oppression. What is it to end in? Anarchy, loss of property, of life, and of national prosperity and honor.

What is our true policy? Because Mr. Lincoln beat us, and was elected under the forms of law, he was entitled to come into power and try his policy, and if the country prospered we ought to submit to it like men. If it was a bad administration we could oppose as in the past we had that of others. That being so, let me ask every Democrat in the State of Indiana, and every Democrat in the Southern Confederacy, where was the danger of wrong when Mr. Lincoln came into power? Let me be heard on this point a few moments. On the 4th day of March, 1861, he came into power. A new Congress came in. In the House was a majority of Representatives against him. In the Senate there was a majority of six against him. There could be no danger from his administration. He must bring his Cabinet about him, whose nomination must be confirmed by the Senate. If he attempted to

bring into power men opposed to the interests of any one section, they had the power to reject them. He could not make a Cabinet without their consent. We had it in our power to make the whole Cabinet to suit ourselves.—Where was the danger, then, from his administration? He could not send out a foreign minister without our consent. Every treaty he made must be submitted to us for ratification. Nor could he appoint Consuls. Nor draw his own salary unless we appropriated it for him. Hence, you see, there was on the part of these men a fixed determination to break and destroy the government. This is no new thing. I will read you one or two extracts from Southern papers, to show you how disunion has been going on from time to time. There was a determination to break up the government, and the great difficulty was making an excuse for it.

Governor Johnson then read from the Montgomery (Ala.) Daily Advertiser, which said that "it was no precipitate rebellion." They could have staid in the Union and arrested every unfriendly measure. One of their organs says "it has not been a precipitate revolution, but with coolness and deliberation has been thought of for forty years. For ten years this has been the all-absorbing question." I will read nothing further to show that it was their design in 1860 that the Union should be broken up. I might introduce other authorities.

In proof of what I am now saying I may quote an extract from a letter of General Jackson on the disunion movement of South Carolina in 1832. Let me ask Jackson Democrats, if there are any here, to hear him speak on this occasion. He now sleeps in a tomb which was, but a short time since, in the Southern Confederacy. I was told that, when they took possession of that county, they marched out to his tomb and attempted to plant the stars and bars upon it. On that occasion an old Jackson Democrat remarked: "By the Eternal God, I expected to see Jackson jump out of his grave!" Though he now sleeps in the grave, if it were possible to communicate with the dead, and if he could foresee the condition of to-day, I have sometimes thought he would turn over in his tomb, burst it asunder, and, extending that long arm and that long finger, declare: "The Federal Union—it must be preserved!" [Immense applause.]

Governor Johnson then quoted his comments on the schemes of Calhoun, in which he proved that the very tariff which was made a pretext for nullification was protective to the coarse wools of the South, and was a mere pretext, and closed with this prophecy: "The next pretext will be the negro, or the slavery question."

Have we not come to it? Is the Constitution changed? I think not. What rights have the South lost? ["None!"] Who can tell? Do you not see that the establishment of a Southern Confederacy was their real object? Jackson's prophecy has been followed out to the very letter.

Who commenced the war—this damnable struggle to destroy the people's rights? The South. Who struck the first blow, fired the first gun, shed the first blood? It is a

matter of history that a delegation from Virginia urged the attack upon the Federal forts at Charleston, as a spur for Virginia to revolt. They knew that in fifteen days Anderson and his gallant band in Fort Sumter would be out of food. But so fearful were they that these men would not be starved to death, or into a surrender, they opened fire on Fort Sumter, on this wretched garrison, and kept it up for three days, so incessantly that they were compelled to fall on their faces and wet their blankets to keep from suffocation. The surrender was communicated to Jeff. Davis at Montgomery. He could not speak in response to the news, but his Secretary did. It was, in substance:

"The first blow has been struck. Who can tell where it will end? Before May the Confederate flag shall be floating on the Capitol at Washington and on Congress Hall at Philadelphia."

They at once raised men and levied taxes. Mr. Lincoln came into power, administering the Constitution like an honest man, and, loving my country, I determined to sustain him. Because he called for men to defend the Constitution and the laws, he has been denounced as a usurper and a despot. If he had not called on you when your country was in peril would not the same armies have been raised by the South, and the revolution gone on? What sort of a Government would you have had to-day? Would it not have been a military despotism? You complain of the great wrong he has done, of arrests, &c. If I have any complaint to make, it is that President Lincoln has not done more to crush the rebellion. Has Lincoln violated the Constitution and trampled the law under foot? Who commenced the war? Did not the South?—Somehow these sympathizers forget that Davis and his piratical crew have violated the Constitution. They can see only the blunders of the party in power, but they have not a word of disapproval for the total annihilation of the Constitution at the South. They can't see any wrong there, but it is all here. They are attempting to build up a party on the blunders and the imputed crimes of the present Administration. Let me say here, if you want to build up a party on the ruins of the Administration party, you build upon a foundation of sand, which will be washed from under it. You must re-establish the Democracy in power on the basis of the restoration of the Union and the enforcement of the laws. That is what I intend to do.

It has been called a high crime to subjugate a State and to enforce the laws. Without law you can have no legislature, no State. Has a State a right to secede? Settle the question, they say, by peaceable secession and reconstruction. This is impossible. This government cannot be divided without bloodshed. Where will you divide it? Where will you draw the line? Who shall have the territories? Such are the questions which arise when you attempt to divide the Union. It cannot be done. The framers of the Constitution designed that it should be perpetual.—That instrument contains principles which are fundamental to all government, immutable, emanating from Deity himself. We are engaged in a long war, but we shall come out

triumphant. Neither this nor succeeding generations shall destroy our rights. They had their origin in a seven years' war, in which our fathers spent their treasure and offered up their lives. So now, brave men of Indiana, your sorrows will return like bread cast upon the waters.

Gov. Johnson then referred to the history of the Constitution, as following after the Articles of Confederation which were to form a perpetual Union, and the Constitution in its preamble sets forth that it is "to form a more perfect Union." It could be adapted to any change in the condition of man, by amendments to the Constitution, and was adapted to all coming time.

Let the idea be kept in mind. We have civil war and revolution. Why not have sought their remedy in the mode pointed out in the Constitution? But no, that must be destroyed, and the destruction of this Government must go with it. They wanted a separation of the States, and then reconstruction. They knew that reconstruction could not follow separation. I hold to the theory that no State can secede. The Union was to be perpetual. Separation dissolves all bonds, and restores the Union to its original elements. What State, what Government, could stand this result? To illustrate: you form a State government, pass laws, and impose penalties for crime. Each man assents to it. But suppose some one commits murder, and is arraigned for it, and should then notify you that he had seceded, and was no longer bound by your laws. He was a sovereign. Do you not think the other sovereigns would punish him? A man builds a house in a city; it is his property and he burns it down, on the principle that he can dispose of his own property as he pleases, without regard to the rights of others, and so burn down a block, or the city. Recognize such a principle, and you have no government but anarchy, and I repudiate the doctrine, *in toto coelo*, that a State has a right to secede, without reference to its effect on the other States. Hence I am for the Union. I intend to stand by the Union so long as I live, and shed my heart's blood, if needed, as a libation for its preservation.

There can be no government unless the laws are enforced. What is the language of the sympathizers with Southern rebels? "I am for the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was." They are giving the enemies of the Union aid and comfort by their clamor. When these cringing, fawning, sycophantic set of fellows, are talking about dividing the Union, a Northwestern Confederacy, peace, armistice, etc., they laugh at you, and hold you in utter contempt. No terms will suit them better than the acknowledgment of their independence.

Let me ask the rebel sympathizers of Indiana, why you are sympathizing with them—why your bowels of compassion yearn for them. Why, you forget the Union men, then? You will not sympathize with us, but you would compromise with traitors. [Never.] Union men of those sections of country, whose necks rest beneath the iron heel of power, ask you to carry out the Constitution. I do not demand it for them, as a privilege, but de-

mand it of you as a right, that the traitors of this rebellion shall be put down. Why? Because, "the United States shall—not may—guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government." I call on the sympathizers here, I demand, in the name of the Constitution as it is, protection and support, and the guaranty of a republican form of government, for the Union men of the South. And, pardon me for my remarks. I ask, in the name of the Constitution, for the relief of that portion of the people in my State east of the Cumberland mountains, who, not excepting yourselves, are the most loyal people of the Nation, because they have dared to be loyal in the face of death—while some of you have been loyal, because you have not dared to be otherwise. We are loyal in our principles, and we have dared to speak and maintain them. I demand of the sympathizers a morsel of their sympathy, for the Union men of the South. You answer, "Compromise." What will you do with your humble speaker, and those who have stood by him? I suppose these sympathizers, like the rebels, want to see me hung.

The redemption of that brave people has been postponed long enough. I notify the people of Indiana, that, if the effort is not made soon, I will come to Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and plead with you for a chosen band of men to go with me and redeem East Tennessee. [Cheers.]

Talk about being tired of the war! I know it is terrible, and realize its horrors, but these are incidents of a civil war. The ruin that has come, the blood that has been shed, are upon the heads of those who precipitated this civil war, and not on ours. You who have brought on this war, have forced this ruin, set brother against brother, orphaned these children, widowed these wives, and filled the land with mourning—you have done all this,—and let me ask you rebel sympathizers to lift up your hands and see if they are not crimsoned with the blood of the victims of the rebellion? Whether it comes sooner or later, justice will come. The slower its pace, the surer is its blow. It will come, if we live; and if not living, when we are dead. Sooner or later, justice will overtake those whose hands are crimsoned with blood.

Tired of an eighteen months' war? Your fathers fought for seven years to establish this government, and you are tired of fighting eighteen months to defend it. So far as I am concerned, I am ready to fight seven years, thirty years, and would not stop then. What is a war of thirty years, when you look at the vast results to flow from it down the sea of time, in laying the foundation of a government which will live in future ages, and revolutionize the governments of the world?—Nothing. You are laying the foundation of a government which will endure while the sun rises and sets. I say, to-day, not from impulse, but from cool reflection, if my life was spared 700 years, I would fight on and fight ever. I would war against this Southern aristocracy as long as the Moors did against the Spaniards 700 years ago.

Governor Johnson also referred to the gallantry of Paul Jones, who refused to surrender

when his ship was sinking, but answered "I am just getting ready to fight." He also quoted from the Knoxville Register an editorial article, in which the rebellion was despaired of, unless dissensions at the North weakened the Union armies. The editor remarked that the *quasi* rebellious attitude of the Governors of New York and New Jersey had produced demoralization in Burnside's army, just as the same attitude of their sympathizers in the Northwest had prevented the advance of Rosecrans' army.

The effect of a compromise would give strength to the rebels. You have commenced the demoralization here. An armistice will increase it. When divided, one half contending against the other, they would turn their invading armies on us and conquer the North. The very state of the war indicates the speedy suppression of the rebellion. If we prosecute the war, with the advance of the armies of the Mississippi, it would soon be opened, East Tennessee occupied by Rosecrans, and the great railroad artery of the South cut by our armies; a close blockade of Galveston, Mobile, Charleston, and other ports—would confine the rebellion so narrowly that it would die in its own feeble struggles.

Why has not this been done? Lincoln has made some blunders, but that is no reason for attacking the government. He is not perfect, but I sustain him in putting down the infamous rebellion, and in every other measure which is right. We are not committed to his blunders. When the government is saved by the suppression of the rebellion, and we have a government to quarrel in, we can quarrel as to whether Lincoln is right or wrong. Let us save the government first.

An armistice! The constitution as it is, and the Union as it was! I assure you as Jackson did about the tariff, it is a mere pretext for giving up to the rebellion. A compromise is the last thing they want. They want to divide, and then conquer the whole. What will you put in your compromise? That each State shall regulate its own domestic institutions? That is spurious coin. After Jeff Davis and other Senators had left Congress, Mr. Corwin, a Republican, proposed an amendment to the constitution providing that slavery should not be interfered with by any amendment to the constitution hereafter. It passed Congress by a two-thirds vote, and now waits adoption by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States to become a part of the constitution. If they wanted a compromise to secure slavery from legislation, why did they not accept it?

Has any slave State adopted the amendment? Why did not Jeff. Davis urge Mississippi to adopt the amendment? It is nearly two years since it passed Congress, and not a seceded State has adopted the guaranty. They did not want it, because they wanted to get their rights—Southern rights. Another case in point was the organization of the territories. In the acts organizing them, the territorial legislatures were prohibited from impairing the rights of the people. This prevented any action against slavery in all the territory, then unorganized, of the Uni-

ted States. This proves that they wanted to separate from the other States, or conquer them. They had no desire for compromise, and had lost faith in man's capability to govern himself, and desired to establish an aristocratic form of government.

In support of this Gov. Johnson referred to the Southern papers, the Richmond Examiner, DeBow's Review, and to the utterances of such men as Isham G. Harris, and the Rhettts and others, that they were our masters. This piratical King, Jeff. Davis, to be my master? Isham G. Harris to be my master? Instead of being my master he should not be my slave. The time has arrived in connection with the down-trodden people of the South, when the tyrant's rod should be broken and the captive set free. Though a Southern man I am a citizen of the United States, and because a man lives at the South is no reason why he should be opposed to any one at the North.

Born and raised in the South, I have been a slave owner, having owned ten slaves. I obtained my Southern rights. The rebels stole my negroes, turned my invalid wife and children into the street, and made my house a barracks for "Butternuts" to lie sick in. That's my Southern rights, and if such are the rights to be awarded us when the Southern Confederacy is extended over us, I pray to be relieved from such a fate.

Great ado has been made about negroes. Let that be as it may, is that any reason why we should oppose our Government, and go croaking about and appealing to a squeamish sympathy in the country. I have lived among negroes, all my life, and I am for this Government with slavery under the Constitution as it is, if the Government can be saved. I am for the Government without negroes, and the Constitution as it is. I want to be understood on this question. I am for the government of my fathers, if it is being carried out according to the principles of the Constitution.

If, as the car of State moves along, the negroes get in the way let them be crushed. If they keep out of the way let them remain where they are. I am for the Government and all measures necessary to maintain it. Is not this Government, the giant embodiment of the principles of human liberty, worth more than the institution of slavery? It is but as the dust in the balance. Some persons in the free States have an idea that if King Cotton didn't rule, they cannot sell a mule or a bushel of corn, but this Government would go on were the cotton plant lost to the world. And when you come to think of it, that by raising a little more wool and flax and hemp—cries of "that's what's wanted!"—you may withhold the article of cotton from the markets of the world, and they would be supplied without a ripple upon commercial waters, they will go on with or without cotton, and whether cotton or negroes continue in the United States, the Government will continue to remain. I am for the Government of my fathers with negroes. I am for it without negroes. Before I would see this Government destroyed I would see every negro back in Africa, and Africa disintegrated and blotted out of space.

Then let us defend this great fabric of hu-

man liberty, and the time will come when this nation will be the great centre of the world, the great guiding star to other nations in government, religion, science and arts, the great centre from which an influence and principle will radiate. Is this not worth battling for? Let us go on with this great experiment of Democracy.

The time has come and is now upon us when we are assured by Southern leaders and their sympathizers that we have an institution that is more powerful than the government itself. When any institution, whether banks or the aristocracy of wealth, or any other combination of capital, asserts that the government has no right to agitate its claims, and shakes it to its centre, then the government must put it down. If the institution of slavery denies the government the right of agitation, and seeks to overthrow it, then the government has a clear right to destroy it.

I look upon these principles of free government as the powerful means of elevating mankind to a higher state of civilization. I look upon our system of religion as advancing man in his spiritual nature. And when we go on, as it were, in these two parallel lines of progress, then we shall pass beyond the church and political systems, and we shall secure harmony, "peace on earth and good will to all men."

I will hold to the government as the palladium of our liberties, and cling to it as the mariner clings to the last plank when the waves are surging over him. If the government is to be overthrown, I do not want to survive it. If the government is to be entombed in the tomb of nation, let me be buried with it. Let us stand together with those brave Indians, some of whom are in hospitals, some in new made graves, and others battling in the field. Indiana has erected a monument for herself. Her reputation will be inscribed on the highest pinnacle of fame. Will you disgrace it by withholding your aid and encouragement?

Will you deny that your soldiers' blood has been shed in a glorious cause? If you do you are unworthy fathers and mothers. Who will turn his back upon his blood? [Cries of "traitors!"] Yes, traitors, none but traitors. For him who sleeps in the grave, let him know that he has fallen in a glorious cause, and water his grave with tears, and, if need be, to crown the war with success, you should shed your own blood and spend your last dollar.

Gov. Johnson concluded by returning his thanks to his fellow-citizens. He made special mention of the ladies. At the South he said it to their shame they had unsexed themselves, and exerted more influence for the rebellion than the men. He believed that at the North the ladies had it in their power to wield an influence that would materially aid the Union cause. It was better to be a brave soldier's widow than a coward's wife.

Gov. Johnson then retired amid vociferous cheering, and when Gov. Wright proposed nine cheers for Gov. J., they were given with a will, the united tribute of esteem of 25,000 freemen of Indiana for the noble Governor of Tennessee.

BY THOMAS BUCHANAN READ.

After Gov. Johnson, T. Buchanan Read, the poet, was introduced by Gov. Wright, and was warmly greeted. He said:

My Countrymen: I do not come before you as an orator. [Turning to Gov. Johnson.] I am no orator, as Brutus is, else would I put tongues into the wounds of this bleeding nation which should cry aloud for vengeance. I am not a politician; I am, I hope, only a patriot, and I have endeavored to write some patriotic verses. While I have a patriotic pulse in my heart, that impulse shall find expression upon my lips, and I would that they might be words of fire. He wisely spake who said, "let me but write the songs of a nation, and let who will enact the laws." I have not the vanity to suppose that I can write the songs of this nation, but I am one who is willing to do his best towards filling the air with patriotic lays, for there are babbling lips that should be filled with song, lest they breathe treason unaware.

When this unnatural rebellion broke out I was five thousand miles from here. I was standing among the ruins of the old Republic of Rome, my feet white with the dust of the palace of the Caesars—all Italy at that moment was clamoring for Union, from Alps to Aetna past me rolled the cry—that one word Union woke that antique land, and led her sons to triumph or the grave. At that same moment I fancied the setting sun blushed as it went sinking into the west over a nation nearly one half of which was clamoring for disunion. Could I remain there under such circumstances? No! My heart would have ceased to beat. I gave up everything to return to do the little I could for my country. What is painting worth among the ruined chambers of a nation? What would poetry be worth among the broken temples of human liberty?

If God has given me the power of song I will lift my voice in this cause—it is my country's cause—it is God's cause. If need be I will go like the Poet Koerner with my war songs on my lips and my sword in my hand. I propose giving you one of those war songs.

The poet then read a poem, written, as he said, for a fourth of July celebration in Rome, entitled "THE DEFENDERS."

It was received with immense applause.

Mr. Reed then said:

My countrymen, I feel deeply on this subject. My father fought for this country.—This accursed rebellion has caused the death of my brother and my two nephews.—I have a right to feel deeply, nay, bitterly, and in the bitterness of my feeling, I wrote the following poem.

Mr. Read then read "THE OATH," every stanza of which was enthusiastically applauded and subscribed to.

HAMLET—Swear on my sword.

GHOST (below)—Swear!

[Shakspeare.]

Ye freemen, how long will ye stifle
The vengeance that justice inspires?
With treason how long will ye trifle
And shame the proud name of your sires?
Out, out with the sword and the rifle
In defense of your homes and your fires.
The flag of the old Revolution
Swear firmly to serve and uphold,
That no treasonous breath of pollution
Shall tarnish one star on its fold.

Swear!

And hark, the deep voices replying
From graves where your fathers are lying,
"Swear, oh, swear!"

In this moment who hesitates, barter.

The rights which his forefathers won,
He forfeits all claim to the charters

Transmitted from sire to son.

Kneel, kneel at the graves of our martyrs

And swear on your sword and your gun:

Lay up your great oath on an altar

As huge and as strong as Stone-henge

And then with sword, fire and halter,

Sweep down to the field of revenge,

Swear!

And hark, the deep voices replying

From graves where your fathers are lying,

"Swear, oh, swear!"

By the tombs of your sires and brothers,

The host which the traitors have slain,

By the tears of your sisters and mothers,

In secret concealing their pain,

The grief which the heroine smothered

Consuming the heart and the brain,—

By the sigh of the penniless widow,

By the sob of her orphans' despair

Where they sit in their sorrowful shadow,

Kneel, kneel every freeman and swear.

Swear!

And hark the deep voices replying

From graves where your fathers are lying.

"Swear, oh, swear!"

On mounds which are wet with the weeping

Where a Nation has bowed to the sod,

Where the noblest of martyrs are sleeping.

Let the winds bear your vengeance abroad;

And your firm oaths be held in the keeping

Of your patriot hearts and your God.

Over Ellsworth, for whom the first tear rose,

While to Baker and Lyon you look—

By Winthrop, a star among heroes,

By the blood of our murdered McCook,

Swear!

And hark, the deep voices replying

From graves where your fathers are lying.

"Swear, oh, swear!"

At the conclusion of the reading, Gov.

Wright offered this sentiment: "I want every soldier to take these stripes and lash every traitor in the land." [Immense cheering.]

Gen. Carey's Speech.

Gen. Samuel F. Carey, of Ohio, was next introduced. He said the enemies of free institutions had said that there was no power in free government to put down rebellion.

It was not so. Monarchists knew that the success of a free government would be the signal for their downfall, and hence it was that all the monarchical governments of the old world sympathized with the Southern rebellion. We had been heretofore in the habit

of considering Benedict Arnold as the prince of traitors, but of late he had been so far surpassed that he ought to be considered a patriot in comparison to modern traitors. Gov. Johnson had truly said that the principle that underlaid the opposition to our government at the South was hostility to popular sovereignty. He read an extract from DeBow's Review, showing that the hostility of Southern aristocrats to the Yankees was based upon the fact that they held all labor to be degrading, and that the Yankees belonged to the working classes. Every neighborhood of the West contained a small sprinkle of Yankees, and many of them had been the pioneers that had opened up this beautiful country. He spoke of Yankee characteristics, and said "If you would put one out upon the ocean with nothing but a pen-knife and a shingle, he would whittle out some way to get on shore." There were diversities of interest in all sections of the Union, and it was these diversities that made unity, and without them we could not exist. The North could not get along without the South, nor the South without the North.

Speaking of traitors at home, he said they were not known by the color of their skin, nor the complexion of their coats. There were negroes in Indiana who were loyal, and there were also white men who were worse than such negroes, for their hearts were blackened with treason. These latter complained loudly that arbitrary arrests had been made, but for one, the only complaint he had to make was that there had been too few arrests.

[The proceedings were interrupted at this point by the firing of a salute of one hundred guns by a park of artillery stationed in the Arsenal grounds, the rapidity of whose firing was the occasion of much cheering by the assembled thousands.]

General Carey proceeded: If a man were setting fire to your house, would you go and get out a warrant to arrest him, or would you take hold of him and arrest him yourself?—The same rule would apply where men were attempting to destroy the government. Gen. Lew. Wallace, in defending Cincinnati, had declared martial law, and made many arbitrary arrests. In enforcing the draft arbitrary arrests were made. Yet what patriot could say this was not right. One Edson B. Olds of Ohio made a speech urging the squirrel hunters to remain at home, and not go to Cincinnati to aid in its defense, and he was arrested and sent to Fort Lafayette. This arrest had been denounced by a portion of the Indiana press as arbitrary and tyrannical. It was not, and had Olds had his dues he ought to have been hanged, for he believed in the doctrine that the shortest road to hell was the best for all traitors.

When members of a conspirator's secret order were brought into Court and called upon to divulge the secrets of the order and plead that by so doing they would criminate themselves, it furnished the best evidence that a conspiracy existed. When men met in school houses and organized conspiracies, the loyal people should exercise that reserved right belonging to all men to protect themselves, and without waiting for Courts, should apply the proper remedy at once. The suppression

of disloyal newspapers and estopping them from the privileges of being sent through the mails was a right the government had to exercise in its defense, and the government was justifiable in all it had done in that respect.

There was no difficulty in determining who were traitors. If any man was so God-forsaken as to go into a secret order and there take an oath against his country, he should not be believed under oath, and his own opinion was that all such could be guilty of committing the worst crimes known to society, for they had already committed the foulest of crimes: treason to their country.

How were you going to punish such men, when they went into the Courts and plead that they could not be compelled to criminate themselves? He would "arbitrary arrest" all of them, and call upon the people to sustain him, and he believed the people would sustain any man in such a course.

There was another way by which traitors could be distinguished. Those men who went around crying: "this is an abolition war," were all of that class. They didn't believe the South could be subjugated. For one he believed that it would not only be subjugated, but that every slave holder would be exterminated forever, before the Union would be given up. He denied that this Government had ever made war against the institution of slavery. On the other hand it had been the special object of the protecting care of the Government. We had tried, even during this war to save the nation without injuring slavery. The army in the past had been used to protect the property of rebel slaveholders, but he thanked God that day was now over.

The historical fact was that the government had tried in every way to save slavery during the progress of the war. There never was such an exhibition of moderation on the part of a government towards those in rebellion against it. He spoke of the condition of the government when Mr. Lincoln came into power, and what followed. His calling out 75,000 volunteers was declared by traitors to be the exercise of a despotic power. So it was when he suspended the writ of habeas corpus. Gen. Jackson had done the same thing, but they had forgotten this patriotic act of the old hero. Gen. Carey defended the President's conduct in this matter as patriotic and wise, and such as was demanded by the condition of the times. It was not a dangerous exercise of power. The outcry made against Mr. Lincoln was for the purpose of deceiving voters, and not with a view to accomplish any good results.

Another cry now heard throughout the land was that the government was being bankrupted. The wish, in such case, was father to the thought. They wished the government to become bankrupt. The government had no money when the war began, nor men, but both had been supplied. The men who had confidence in their country had confidence in "green backs," and those who desired its destruction were afraid of the national currency.

The impression existed at the South that we were about "played out" up North; that there existed 90,000 Knights of the Golden Circle in Indiana, 85,000 in Ohio and 100,000

in Illinois. But there were men and women enough to save the country, notwithstanding the opposition of traitors. He would wage this war until the country became desolated, and all the achievements of our fathers blotted out, and the American name forgotten, before he would give up the Union. He cared not what instruments were used to kill off rebels. He would take mules and put upon their feet steel heels and toes and train them to kick rebels to death. He would arm negroes for the same reasons. He would answer the question, "what are you going to do with the negroes?" by saying "it's time enough to talk about that when the war's over." He believed, however, that as the negro loved the Southern sun they would flock to that region if slavery was blotted out. He had always been in favor of prosecuting this war without reference to the negro, believing that the white race were interested in determining the question as to whether white men were to become slaves or not. There were six million Southern white men who were degraded socially and treated as slaves by a Southern aristocracy. He believed the races ought to be separated—how, he could not say. The country of the Amazon may be reserved by Providence for an African republic. But if this could not be done, he was for cleaning out South Carolina and turning it over to the exclusive use of the negroes.

No matter what it might cost in money or in blood, the preservation of this government would be purchased cheap enough if we could only hand it down to posterity undivided, in all its purity and integrity.

He alluded to the bravery of Indiana soldiers, and said they had shed more glory upon the State than all it had cost. Yet there were men in Indiana who encouraged these soldiers to desert, and the swiftest and surest punishment for them would be to hang them on the first tree that came handiest. He was for carrying on the war, not only until the rebels were subjugated, but until they were wholly exterminated, if that were necessary, to secure our own liberties.

A Northern sympathizer was worse than a Southern rebel. They had but two rights: one was to die, and the other to be damned. They had undertaken a big job in endeavoring to alienate the West from New England, and would fail. Nor could they alienate us from the Union men of the South. Andrew Johnson was worth more to us than all the rebels of the South, and we would not give him up.

This was a contest between the two systems of civilization—the aristocracy and the working classes. One reason why Andrew Johnson could not be anything but a loyal man was because he had earned his bread by the sweat of his brow. The Northern theory was that educated labor was the best of all labor. The Southern idea was the reverse of this.

He believed that were it not for the discouragement shown by traitors at the North we could raise a million more of men. We could do it anyhow. We had men enough, money enough and spirit enough to crush out the rebellion, and he hoped the Government would be strong enough to sustain the people in their wishes in this behalf.

The laboring masses everywhere were in sympathy with us in this conflict, while those who loved tyranny were in sympathy with the Southern Confederacy. He believed that when the war ended a higher order of civilization would be inaugurated, and it would probably be the last war in this country, as it would settle all doubtful issues forever and place our Republic upon an enduring basis.

He concluded by warning his fellow-citizens to watch the scorpions in their midst, and clean them out. [Cheers.]

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was made by Charles H. Test immediately after the conclusion of the speech of General Carey. It was read so clearly and well that it could be heard all over the crowd, and was received with the most deafening cheers. The resolutions against any compromise or armistice; demanding that the Legislature should leave untouched the constitutional powers of the Governor; pledging the meeting to the support of the families of soldiers; and denouncing the traitors at home who attempt to discourage the soldiers, were each received with three tremendous cheers. At the conclusion Gov. Wright put the question "All in favor of the resolutions hold up the right hand," and the uprising of hands was an astonishing sight. It looked like a new growth of crowd on the top of the lower one, and every hand held up a hat, and every voice below cheered as if cheering was the only thing it had done from childhood. All previous shouting was tame to it. Never were resolutions so heartily and unanimously adopted, and we may add, never did resolutions better deserve it.

RESOLUTIONS.

WE, the loyal people of the State of Indiana, in Mass Convention assembled, at the Capitol Square, in the city of Indianapolis, on the 26th day of February, 1863, do resolve:

1. That our attachment to the Federal Union is unabated; and that we will adhere with unflinching devotion to the National cause. That we believe the safety of the country and the preservation of our liberties depend upon the perpetuity of the Union; and that we view every proposition of compromise with rebels, on any other basis than that of unqualified submission to the laws and the National authority, as wholly inadmissible, and fraught with the most dangerous consequences to the country.

2. That we desire "that no effort which inspires a reasonable hope of success in restoring the Union as it was under the Constitution, shall be omitted; and being solemnly impressed with the conviction that arms alone" are adequate to the accomplishment of that end, we will heartily support the government in a vigorous prosecution of the war until the rebellion is crushed; and that we deprecate all truckling armistices and juggling conventions with traitors in arms, as weak inventions of the enemy; that a cessation of hostilities for a single day would only serve to strengthen the foe and weaken ourselves, and would be a base surrender of all the advantages we have gained in the pending struggle; and that such a proposition cannot be entertained by loyal men for one moment.

3. That the highest interests of Indiana "demand the

perpetuation of the Union," and not only that the great Valley of the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth, but all the States of this Union, from the eastern border of Maine to the Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, shall remain under one government and one flag, and that the government and the flag of our fathers.

4. That the attitude of the gallant soldiers of Indiana, in the various armies of the Republic, in view of the disloyal propositions which have been introduced into the Legislature of our State, challenges our admiration and excites our gratitude. The voices that come to us over mountain and river, and from many bloody fields, in the ringing accents of patriotism, evince the high resolve of our citizen soldiery to sustain the government of their fathers, and to restore the supremacy of the flag of the Republic over every foot of the soil embraced in the Federal Union.

5. That we believe that in every measure which President Lincoln has adopted for the maintenance of the Union and the restoration of the national authority he has been actuated by the highest patriotism and the most loyal devotion to the interests of the people, and we pledge ourselves to a hearty support of the Administration in all its measures for the suppression of the rebellion.

6. That our distinguished Governor, Oliver P. Morton, is entitled to the gratitude of the people of Indiana for his patriotic and untiring efforts in behalf of the cause of the country, for his able administration of the affairs of the State, civil and military, and for his devotion to the comfort and welfare of the Indiana troops; that to his energy, foresight and patriotism, so gloriously sustained by the conduct of our soldiers in the field, are we indebted for the proud position which our beloved State now occupies amongst her loyal sisters; that in behalf of our soldiers, as well as for the honor and safety of the State, we demand of the General Assembly that they pass no law or measure depriving the Governor of any of the powers or prerogatives granted him by the Constitution, or hitherto accorded to his office by law or custom.

7. That the loyal people of Indiana are determined to maintain their allegiance to the National Government at all hazards; that they will never submit to the withdrawal of the State of Indiana from the Union, nor to the formation of a Northwestern Confederacy; that experience has shown that peaceable disintegration of any portion of the Union is impossible, and we adjure the people of our loyal State to rebuke, in such terms as will need no repetition, all men who strive to sow discord between different States, or who speak of a re-construction of the Government by leaving any State or section out of the Union.

8. That resistance to law is revolutionary in its tendency, and that any attempt to embarrass the Government in the execution of the Revenue, Conscription, or any other law of the United States, will be promptly met and suppressed by the loyal people of Indiana.

9. That to our distinguished guest, Gov. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, we tender our heartfelt thanks for his firm and patriotic adherence to the national cause; that we hold up his example of faithful loyalty to the young men of Indiana as worthy of their imitation, and we tender, through Governor Johnson, to his oppressed and persecuted loyal fellow-citizens of Tennessee our sympathies in their afflictions, and our hope that their day of deliverance may speedily come.

10. That the miscreants in our midst who attempt to create dissatisfaction in the ranks of our gallant soldiers, and induce them to desert the colors made glorious by their valor on repeated battle-fields, are meaner traitors than the armed rebels of the South; that they are entitled to, and will receive the scorn of all honorable men; that they are more dangerous enemies to the soldier than the armed hosts in his front, inasmuch as the latter strike only at the life of the soldier, while the former seek the destruction of his honor and self-respect, which to the true soldier are dearer than life.

11. That we pledge ourselves, collectively and individually, to look to and provide for the comfort and support of the wife and family of the soldier who is absent in the field battling for the restoration of the Government.

Gov. Wright being loudly called upon, declined, saying that he had spoken oftener than any man in the State, and others were

here, who could entertain them better than he. He therefore introduced Hon. Chas. W. Cathcart, who was, perhaps, a stranger to many of those present, and who was a Democrat from principle, one who would never recognize a party organization as paramount to the support of his country, no matter who was President.

Mr. Cathcart followed in an excellent address, which was enthusiastically cheered throughout. We regret we have no space to give a report of it.

SECOND STAND.

At the second stand Hon. Charles Case was the first speaker. We failed to hear the opening of his speech, but he discussed four leading points after we came up. 1st, Northwestern Confederacy and separation from New England; 2d, Suspension of the habeas corpus; 3d, The singular vehemence of the Copperheads against everything done by our government, and their silence as to everything done by the rebels; and 4th, the immense stake which the sacrifices already made have given the people of the North in the successful prosecution of the war. He was followed by Hon. W. S. Smith, of Fort Wayne, the Union candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction last fall. He was dubbed "Pop Gun Smith" by the Butternuts, but the Union men have found a better name. They call him "Parrott Gun Smith," and the way he made the bones crack, and the blood fly in his speech was good proof that the latter was the better name.

Several other speakers followed. Matthew R. Hull, Capt. Ben S. Nicklin of the artillery, and Parke Dewey of Minnesota, formerly of this State, a son of the lamented Judge Dewey of our Supreme Bench, a lawyer of unusual talent and high standing, capable of attaining any position, and a private in a Minnesota regiment.

He was followed by Capt. John H. Farquhar, who closed the exercises at that stand. We believe there were one or two other speakers at this stand, but we were unable to hear them.

THIRD STAND.

At the Third Stand Hon. John A. Matson was appointed President, and upon the stand beside him were Generals Kimball and Hascall, and the eloquent Henry Secrest. Gen. Kimball was introduced by Mr. Matson.

General Kimball's Speech.

He said,—Indians, I am proud of my native State. I never was so proud before of

being born on the soil of Indiana. I never was so rejoiced as I am to witness this great outpouring of her patriotic people. I want to be with the army, but I am glad to be here. I am glad to see this demonstration of your purpose to put down the traitors at home who are encouraging this unholy rebellion. This vast crowd says to treason "Thus far shalt thou go, and hereshalt thy waves bestayed." (applause.) It is written that the "seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent," and you are proving its truth to-day. (Laughter and applause.) I have no soft words for traitors, and those who cry peace, and discourage the army, who would end this war otherwise than by the crushing of the rebellion, are traitors. (Applause, and cries of "that's so.") When I fight, I fight to win, (Cries of "good") and I fight now to preserve the constitution. I stand upon the constitution. I care for nothing else. The constitution is my watchword and my battle cry, and shall be as long as God gives me strength or power to lift my arm in its defence. (Applause.) The rebels are fighting to destroy that constitution, and I loathe those who lend them encouragement at home. Of all mean, miserable, despicable, dirty, crawling—(The rest was lost in a storm of cheering, but it is not hard to guess where this destructive shower of grape shot was aimed.) Indiana should give no countenance to such. Her name is too glorious in this war, and her services too great, to allow her to lower herself by such a course. To you belongs the honor of keeping that name still glorious. If you cannot support and sustain your soldiers while fighting for the government, the cause is lost, and Indiana and the government will fall together. But let Indiana keep bravely up to her gallant soldiers, support them, and encourage them, and both will surely be saved. I love Indiana. I was born on her soil, but dearly as I love her I love the Union more. (Great applause.) He then alluded to the treasonable course of the Butternuts and said if they don't like the government, let them go South where they can find one they do like, and then if they will only take arms in their hands we will whip them too. (Tremendous cheering.) He discussed briefly the emancipation proclamation, and declared that the pretense of the Copperheads that it had changed the aspect or character of the war in any respect was false.

His speech was singularly in harmony with the feeling of the crowd, and contained a great deal of solid sense, and fervid patriotism.

He was followed by General Hascall, and he by Hon. Henry Secrest of Greencastle, one of the ablest orators of the State, and one of the great leaders of the Union movement.

NIGHT MEETINGS.

MASONIC HALL.

The immense crowd of the day left over a huge crowd for the night, which wasn't half satisfied with the dozen speeches it had got,

and wanted more. It was announced that Hon. Sam. Galloway, of Ohio, and Col. R. W. Thompson, of this State, would speak at Masonic Hall, and Gov. Wright at the Hall of the House. At 7 o'clock we went down to Masonic Hall and found a large crowd outside the door, who appeared to be waiting for the opening of the room. We soon found a better reason. We pushed on half way up the stairs, and were actually forced back by the overflow of the Hall, already packed and jammed full. Hundreds had come away, and the stairs were crowded with others, singing out as they pressed down the steps, "It's no use, you can't get in." "You couldn't drive a man in there with a pile-driver." "Who's speaking?" "Dick Thompson, and he's doing it gloriously, but you can't get an inch of room to listen." We concluded to back out and let Col. Thompson's speech speak for itself, since his reputation and its eloquence left us no other chance. Getting back to the pavement again we found that the crowd outside were resolved not "to give it up so," and had somehow got up word to the inside that they wanted a speaker outside. Rev. J. H. Lozier, the Brownlow of Indiana, the witty, eloquent and earnest Chaplain of the 37th regiment, who brought up the resolutions and votes of the Indiana troops in the army of the Cumberland to our Legislature, had been sent out, and was just getting his hat off for a speech. At this moment we glanced over the crowd in the street, and it was monstrous. Nearly across the street, and half the length of the square up and down, it reached, filling pavement, gutter and all in a compact mass. It was four times as large at least as the crowd in the hall. No room in the city would have held half of it. And yet the hall was still as tightly crammed as ever, and Gov. Wright had the Hall of the House as tightly packed as it would hold. Verily the Union men are great on big meetings.

Mr. Lozier's Speech.

In an off-hand, unclerical, but decidedly popular style, and in a clear, distinct voice, that seemed to punch the words out, each one by itself, like bullets, Mr. Lozier began, and after a brief introductory allusion to the circumstances of his appearance, said he felt an inch bigger every way to-day. The demonstration was one that would carry joy to the heart of the soldier, who for months had bowed his head in discouragement before the disloyalty at home. It was a blow the copperheads would feel, and to strike copper-

heads had been his business for some time past. It was written that "the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent," and he, as a Methodist preacher, was licensed to strike the serpent wherever he could find it. [Laughter.] But if any body doubted that authority, he came as the emissary of the Army of the Cumberland, and that was authority nobody could doubt for killing the animal anywhere. [Laughter.]—What kind of animals these copperheads were, he illustrated by relating an incident of his speech, in some town up North, a few days since. In the course of the speech, he said he challenged any man to place his finger on the clause, section or article of the Constitution which the President had violated. He waited for an answer. Nobody spoke for some moments. Finally, a man away back by the door said, "I can give you an instance." "Name it, sir, name it,"—"Why, he has—he has—he has violated the *corpus christi*!" [Uproarious Laughter.]—The poor fellow did not even know the name of the thing his leaders had been trying to mislead him about. He was driving at the *habeas corpus*, and supposed it was all right when he got anything with a "*corpus*" in it. [Laughter.]

The speaker next alluded to Senator Cobb's assault upon the army. That Senator had said that "there was a trick in the adoption of the resolutions sent up by the Army of the Cumberland. A Brigadier General had written so to him." The "trick" was this: A certain Colonel commanding a brigade had refused to let his Indiana regiment vote on the resolutions. The speaker, in discharge of his duty as a member of the committee to collect the votes, came to that regiment to get its vote. The Adjutant, whom he first met, said the *regiment wanted to vote*, but the Colonel wouldn't allow it. When the Colonel came in he said "his regiment had not voted and should not." And that was all the "trick" there was in the matter. [Cries of "Name that officer." "Who is he?" "Turn him out!"] It was Colonel Caldwell, of the 51st Indiana. [Tremendous shouts and cries of derision.]

The speaker said further in regard to Mr. Cobb, that it would be a good thing for him and his copperhead friends to go to the army, and clean out one of these regiments they entertain such a contempt for. [Laughter, and cries of "Let them try it."] He would find that every individual soldier would prove a "Little Giant Corn and Cobb Crusher." [Uproarious cheering and laughter.] These copperheads had proclaimed from every stump and every dry-goods box during the past fall, that the majority of the army were Democrats. Their organs asserted it, their speakers swore to it, and they all declared it. Yet when the Legislature meets, they decide that it is *unconstitutional for the soldiers to vote*. [This lick "brought down the house," if that phrase can be applied to a crowd out doors. The cheering lasted so long that we feared the speaker would not get started again.] He had taken down the names of every one of the men who voted that the soldier should not vote, and he meant to make them

household words in the army. [Cheers.—"That's right." "Remember them."]

We have not space to follow the speaker through his long succession of telling blows, but we must conclude with his conclusion.—"Fellow citizens: I don't know who you are, but you came up here from all parts of the State. I want you when you go home to sit down and write to your son, or brother, or nephew in the army, what you saw here to-day. Tell your neighbors who have gone home to do so too. I tell you it will send a thrill of joy through the soldier's heart such as he has not felt for months. [Cheering and cries of 'we will,' 'we'll attend to it.'] Another thing: You pledged yourselves to-day in the resolutions you adopted to support the families of soldiers. The knowledge that you will stick to that pledge will encourage the soldier more than anything you can do. Let me tell an incident, for an illustration and example:

A few weeks since, the farmers living on the Hillsboro pike in Wayne county, met and agreed that the next Saturday every one of them that could would go to Richmond with a load of wood, and whatever else, in the way of support, he could give, for the families of absent soldiers. Well, Saturday came, and with it came a long procession of *forty-five wagons* loaded with wood, and on the top of every load a sack of flour or potatoes. About *two thousand pounds of flour*, and potatoes in proportion, were thus contributed. The next week the farmers on the Boston pike, not to be outdone, went into Richmond with *seventy-five loads of wood, more than two thousand pounds of flour*, and potatoes, meat and other things in proportion. On next Saturday the farmers on Newton pike take their turn, and the Lord only knows how much they will give. And there are six more pikes to come in yet! [The cheering at this point was something terrific. It fairly made the buildings around quiver.] That's the way old Wayne is doing. Now I want you to see if you can't do so too. [Cries of "Yes, yes!" and one voice: "We'll resolve ourselves into turnpikes all over!"] which capital hit was vociferously cheered as the speaker had been before.]—With a few words more, the speaker closed, and was asked who he was, by hundreds of men, "We want to know you," "Who are you?" "I am the Chaplain of the 37th Indiana regiment." "Three cheers for the Chaplain of the 37th." And they came with a will. The speaker returned his thanks for the compliment, and said he hoped to deserve it by his efforts for the soldiers and the country, and retired.

Col. A. D. Straight, of the 51st, was called out next, and spoke ably and well, but our space is too entirely used up to allow us to notice it further to-night.

THE MEETING AT REPRESENTATIVE HALL

Was opened by Governor Wright's introducing T. Buchanan Read, who recited two or three appropriate selections from his poems.

Governor Wright then addressed the meeting. He said that when he looked over the vast assemblage of to-day, when Governor Johnson was addressing the people, he was satisfied that the hearts of the people were right, and that a reaction was going on in the land that two-penny politicians little dreamed of. He had had the pleasure of taking by the hand a Democratic Governor from a slave State, who had acted with him heretofore in party contests, and had introduced him to the people.

He wished to know whether he was to be hereafter denounced as an Abolitionist? The difficulty with some was that they could not distinguish the difference between the importance of their Government and the temporary ruler thereof. Party prejudice had more to do with controlling the opinions of men than reason, and it was unfortunate for the country that demagogues knew this, and acted only upon that rule. One argument with them was that abolition and secession were twin heresies. But this was not so, for the remedy for the one was the ballot, and for the other bullets and bayonets.

Jeff. Davis never dared to declare that this was a revolution, nor that any rights had been lost under the Constitution, but claimed that our Government was but a confederacy, and not a compact, and that States had the right to withdraw from it. Our Constitution was a written compact between States as binding as the marriage relation was to the husband and wife. If States had committed acts inconsistent with the Constitution the remedy was the ballot box, and not secession.

Referring to the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and the arrests, about which so much complaint has been made, he said the Constitution gave the President ample power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in time of rebellion. The question was now in the Supreme Court, and should it decide that the President had such power, those complaining gentlemen who had claimed that the power only belonged to Congress would feel exceedingly cheap.

He said that no greater falsehood had been circulated than that the government had attempted and was attempting to bring negro labor in competition with white labor. Mr. Lincoln's doctrine was to colonize the negroes, and the absence of every negro by colonization made more room for the white man.

The cry of abolition was used by bad men to create prejudice in the minds of the ignorant and prevent them from reasoning on this question. But the sober second thought was at work, and many who had voted with the opposition to the Administration in the belief that that party would do more to prosecute the war than all others were beginning to get their eyes open and to see which way they were drifting.

Congress had said that this war had been commenced by the acts of the rebels, and it was the duty of the people to sustain it. But four voted against this declaration in the two houses of Congress, and three of them were in the rebel army, and the other ought to be there. When Fort Sumter was struck the Constitution and Union were struck, and it

was every man's duty to resist such acts of war, or leave the country. Wrangling, now, while we had a disunited republic, was wrong and destructive to unity of action in support of the country. It should be postponed until after the war. There had been no candidate for Congress on the Democratic ticket last summer that did not claim that it was right to work negroes on fortifications, but they could not bring themselves up to the second step, to use negroes as soldiers, if necessary. But he predicted that no man could get a thousand votes in 1864 who had not been willing to use every instrument that could be had to put down this rebellion.

These politicians were feeling for public opinion. They had introduced resolutions in that very Hall about an armistice, peace conventions, &c., in the early part of the session. They dare not pass such resolutions now, for public sentiment would not endorse such action, and they could not afford to face the music.

Six months ago they denied the existence of Knights of the Golden Circle, but now they refuse to appoint a committee to investigate the existence of such order. There can never be peace in this country while secret organizations exist in communities into which men went and took oaths against their country. Nine-tenths of the men who had joined these associations had been misled into them, and they would get out of them. They were doing it now. And he believed that when men went into Court and refused to tell what they knew of such organizations, they should be sent off to Fort Warren. Tennessee went out of the Union through the influence of these organizations. He had charged last summer that such societies existed, and that if they thought proper to do so they would attempt to take this State out of the Union.—No man was to be trusted who joined these societies. If they could agree to commit the highest known crime—treason—they could be induced to commit every crime known to society.

In conclusion, he said he had faith that this government would be preserved. He had no fears of foreign intervention so long as large armies were in the field contesting against one another. No government had ever put down rebellion in two years. He considered it a matter of wonder that so much had been done in twenty-two months. We had done what no other nation had been able to accomplish—keep up an almost perfect blockade.—We had a million of men under arms, and the stars and stripes now wave over two-thirds of the territory of the slave States. We had either to subdue them or they must subdue us. There could be no compromise or armistice. If compromise was wanted by the South let them send members to Congress and submit their case to the proper tribunal. It was your duty to stand by your brave boys who were in the field fighting your battles.—Don't send them armistice resolutions or seek to disgrace them by ignominious compromise. If twenty millions could not conquer eight millions his prayer was that there might be none of us left to bear the shame that would follow such a confession.

Gov. Wright then read a letter from our Consul at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, saying that the middle classes were sympathising with the Union cause, and stating that large quantities of lint, linen and socks for our wounded had been contributed by them, and that 25,000 Germans stand ready to volunteer to aid us in crushing out this rebellion.

We were not loyal enough. If we would come forward and offer up our wealth in aid of our government it would do more to bring about peace than all else. He closed by appealing to all present to do all they could to save their country in this the hour of its peril. Gov. Wright was frequently interrupted during his remarks by the cheering of the audience.

Col. H. B. Carrington was then introduced, who said he appeared before them as a soldier who had taken an oath to support his government against all opposers whatsoever, whether such opposers were in the field or elsewhere. He alluded to the obstacles thrown in the way of our army at the outset, the lack of arms, &c., and how those obstacles had been overcome. He believed this to be a war for the world. It was the law of God that the right must rule. And he conscientiously believed that the working out of this rule would be to not only strengthen our own government, but to shed a radiating light over all the other nations of the world by which the down-trodden people could see their way to liberty.

He contended that it was right, just, proper and politic to use the slaves of rebels to aid our army in destroying rebels. It would result in the saving of thousands of lives.

As to secret societies organized to thwart and overthrow the government, he would say that so long as he was military commandant of Indiana, he would consider it his duty to break up such lodges and bring their members to judgment. His oath as a soldier required this of him, and when he could not do this, he would lay his commission at the feet of the President. (Cheers.)

Hon. James Wilson, of Crawfordsville, next addressed the meeting in a neat, eloquent and patriotic effort, during which he was loudly applauded.

CONCLUSION.

AN IMPRESSIVE SCENE.

On Thursday night, the meeting at Masonic Hall, concluded the proceedings of the great Union Convention. T. Buchanan Read, the Poet, opened the meeting by the recitation of two or three of his thrilling patriotic poems, and Hon. R. W. Thompson and Hon. Sam Galloway continued them with speeches that roused a pitch of enthusiasm such as was never before witnessed in any meeting in this State. Every sentence was cheered, and what is better every sentence deserved it.—The audience had become so full of the occasion, and the glorious cause that created it, that they threw off all the reserve and coolness of manhood, and shouted with delight like

boys. At the close of Galloway's speech, which was one of his very best, and that is saying a great deal, a scene occurred which put a fitting climax on the enthusiasm, and closed most gracefully and imposingly the extraordinary spectacle of the day. Governor Wright, who had come over from the State House meeting, and miraculously got upon the platform somehow, came forward and said that "a venerable gentleman in the audience desired to see our distinguished guest, Governor Johnson, having come a long distance to enjoy that pleasure, and failed so far."

Gov. Johnson rose at this remark and came forward on the platform amid a tempest of cheering, continued till any lungs less inspired by enthusiasm would have given out, and said "he did not arise to make a speech, but to make an apology for not making one. It would be readily perceived that his voice was in no condition to say anything, but he must take advantage of the opportunity to declare that this was the proudest and happiest day of his life. He then alluded to the extraordinary changes produced by our great national struggle, men of life-long contraries of opinion finding themselves side by side, and former enemies made friends by the power of a great common cause, and said that it afforded him unspeakable satisfaction to meet here two distinguished gentlemen with whom he had always differed in politics, (Thompson and Galloway,) as well as the distinguished gentleman with whom he had always politically agreed (Governor Wright). Their hearts now beat in unison for the great cause in which all were engaged. In conclusion of this glorious day's proceedings, he asked the satisfaction of taking the two distinguished gentlemen, his former opponents, by the hand, in the presence of this immense assembly." As the Governor made this last remark he stepped forward and grasping with one hand a hand of Mr. Thompson, and with the other that of Mr. Galloway, the three stood for a moment overpowered by their feelings; then, as if by a common impulse, *threw their arms round each other*, and the audience, worked up to a pitch of feeling hardly less intense than that of the distinguished gentlemen, broke into shouts and cries of joy, cheers, and stormy applause, very generally moistened with tears, too, which actually shook the building. Such another scene was never witnessed in a political meeting. It was a natural, irrepressible outburst of feeling, and made many a wet eye among the

sturdy patriots, who were little used to the "melting mood." The iron old Andy Johnson, who had faced rebel pistols, and endured rebel persecution, had seen his property destroyed, and his family turned into the streets, without a tear, crying like a boy with the delight of an occasion so grateful to his patriotic soul, was a sight to remember for a life time. For many minutes the audience was a wild sea of joyful commotion, utterly indescribable, which only subsided on the announcement of the propriety of providing means to distribute the report of the speeches and proceedings of the meeting among the soldiers and the people. On this subject the following resolution was offered by Col. John W. Ray, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That when the Union men in attendance at this meeting return to their various counties, that each person consider himself a committee of one to raise funds and forward the same to James Blake, Jr., in this city, for the purpose of defraying the expense of printing a large edition of the speeches and proceedings of to-day's meeting for gratuitous circulation among the Indiana soldiers now in the field.

The following lines were sent to us to be read at the Union meeting on Thursday but failed to reach us till it was too late to use them as desired:

INDIANA.

BY THOMAS B. LONG.

All hail! Indiana, proud State of the brave!
For nobly thy valor hath purchased renown—
Thy deeds shall be blazoned from wave unto wave,
Thy star shall be brightest in Liberty's crown!
The sons of thy soil in their might have appeared
Wherever the Union's bright flag was unfurled,
With the valor of Spartans—for ages revered—
And have written their deeds on the scroll of the world.
Their track in the carnage of battle is traced,
'Till thy honor is bright as the face of the day,
For the blot that the traitor so wrongfully placed,
Has been washed with the blood of his legions away.

Thy heroes are numbered like sands on the shore—
Like the leaves of the forest when autumn appears—
And still, when our country demands them, shall more
Fall blessed in our memories, embalmed in our tears.
Their blood has enriched every soil of our land,
Where battle has waved its dread standard on high,
And the names of that gallant and glorious band,
With the names of the blest, are enrolled in the sky.
Thy honor, proud State, is untarnished again;
Thy glory endures in their valor to-day,
For the traitor's accursed and infamous stain
Has been washed with the blood of his legions away.

Oh! long may thy glory and honor endure,
Enshrined in the pages of history's tomes,
In the songs of the bard and in music inure,
'Till their halo shall gleam o'er our hearths and homes.
And whenever a foe, from at home or afar,
Shall threaten our sisterhood's honor and name,
May thy glory still shine, like a new-risen star,
And thy thousands respond to the calling of fame.

Then hail Indiana! proud State of the free!
Thy name is as bright as the sun-light to-day,
For the slander the traitor once breathed against thee
Has been washed with the blood of his legions away!
Terre Haute, Indiana.

The following poems were among the number recited by T. Buchanan Read, at the great Union Convention.

THE BRAVE AT HOME.

BY T. BUCHANAN READ.

The maid who binds her warrior's sash,
With smile that well her pain dissembles,
The while beneath her drooping tress
One starry tear drop hangs and trembles;
Though Heaven alone records the tear,
And Fame shall never know her story,
Her heart has shed a drop as dear
As e'er bedewed the field of glory.

The wife who girds her husband's sword,
'Mid little ones who weep or wonder,
And bravely speaks the cheering word,
What though her heart be rent asunder,
Doomed nightly in her dreams to hear
The bolts of death around him rattle,
Hath shed as sacred blood as e'er
Was poured upon the field of battle.

The mother who conceals her grief,
While to her breast her son she presses,
Then breathes a few brave words and brief,
Kissing the patriot brow she blesses;
With no one but her secret God
To know the pain that weighs upon her,
Sheds holy blood as e'er the soil
Received on Freedom's field of honor.

THE FLAG OF THE CONSTELLATION.

T. BUCHANAN READ.

Air—"Sparkling and Bright."

The stars of morn on our banner borne,
With the iris of Heaven are blended,
The hand of our sires first mingled those fires,
And by us they shall be defended.
Then hail the true, Red, White and Blue,
The flag of the Constellation,
It sails as it sailed by our forefather's hailed,
O'er battles which made us a nation.

What hand so bold as strike from that fold,
One star or one stripe of its bright'ning,
For him be those stars, each a fiery Mars,
And each stripe be as terrible lightning.
Then hail the true, Red, White and Blue,
The flag of the Constellation,
It sails as it sailed by our forefathers hailed,
O'er battles which made us a nation.

Its meteor form shall ride the storm,
Till the fiercest of foes surrender,
The storm gone by it shall gild the sky,
A rainbow of peace and of splendor.
Then hail the true, Red, White and Blue,
The flag of the Constellation,
It sails as it sailed by our forefathers hailed,
O'er battles which made us a nation.

Peace, to the world, is our motto unfurled,
Tho' we shun not the field that is gory;
At home or abroad, fearing none but our God,
We will carve our own pathway to glory!
Then hail the true, Red, White and Blue,
The flag of the Constellation,
It sails as it sailed by our forefathers hailed,
O'er battles which made us a nation.